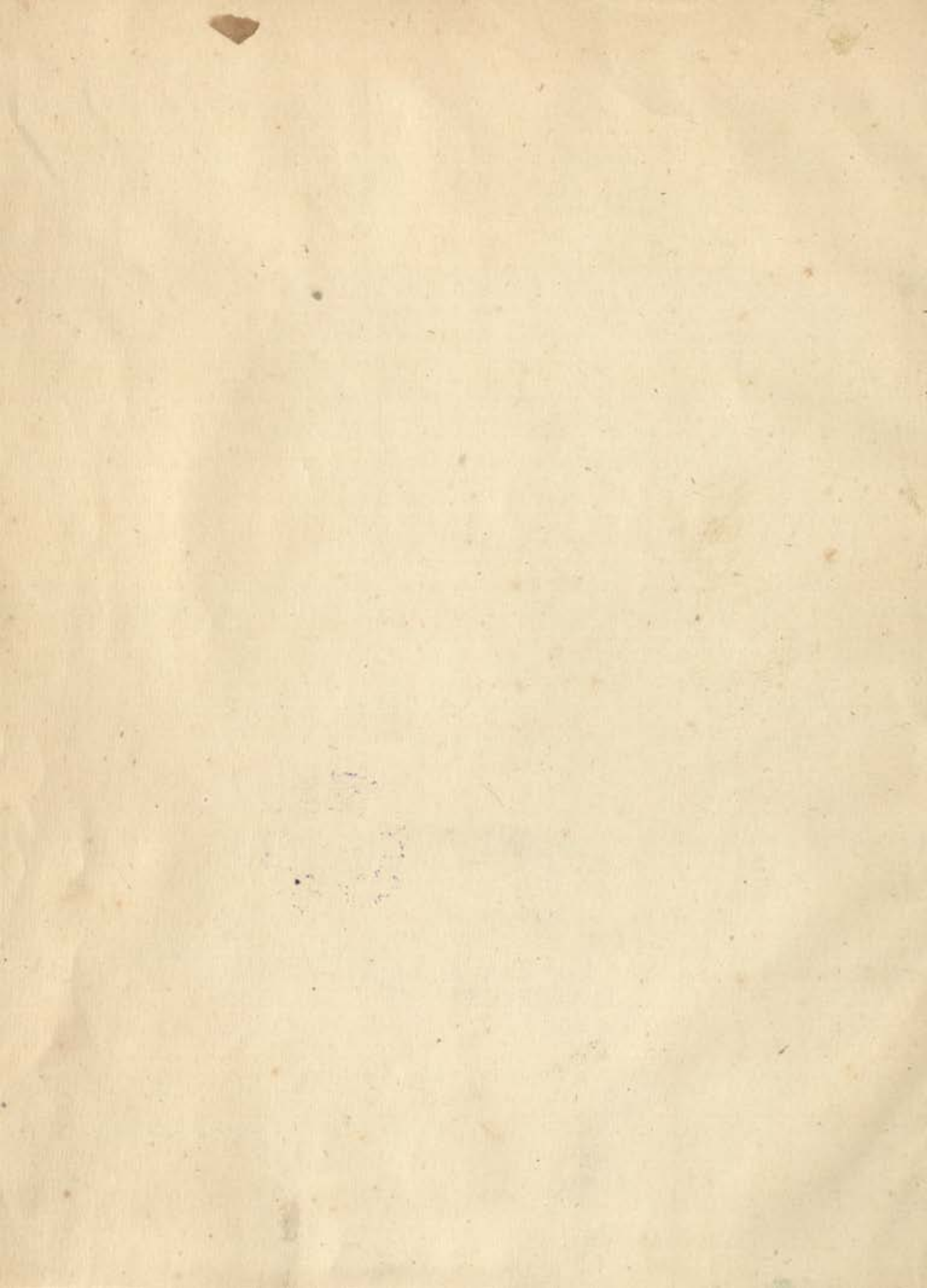


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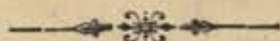
Karikala and His Times.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A.; OOTACAMUND.

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KARIKALA AND HIS TIMES.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B. A.; OOTACAMUND.

ONE of the oldest cities of Southern India is Kāvīrippāmpattinam. It is situated on the sea coast, 12 miles south-east of Shiyali in the Tanjore district.¹ In ancient times it also bore the name Pugār. That it was near the mouth of the river Kāvēri and had in it the temples of Śāyāvanam and Pallavanīśvaram are recorded in the *Dēvāram* songs.² Ancient Tamil literature abounds in references to this old city and these show that it was a place of considerable size and importance in early times. Excluding the authors of the *Dēvāram*, the poets that give a glowing description of the place, the wealth of the town, the pleasures and pastimes of its inhabitants and the busy trade which it kept up with the outside world and the inland countries, are not few. Chief among them may be mentioned the Chēra prince Ilaṅgōvaḍigal, the author of *Silappadigāram*; Sittalai Śāttanār who composed the *Maṇimēgalai*; Rudrañkaṇṇār and Nappūḍanār, the authors of three of the poems in the collection known as *Pattup-ṭṭu*. There are evidences in these writings to show that some of the authors visited the place which they described, while others were its inhabitants.

Not long after the time of the Saiva saints, Nānasambandar and Appar, who are assigned to the middle of the 7th century A. D., the sea washed away the whole town with its boasted splendour and glory. It was about this time that the Chinese pilgrim, Hsien Tsiang, visited many of the important places of Southern India. This town should certainly have been one of them if it had then been in existence, but its identity with the southern Charitrapura, as some take it, is doubtful. There are grounds to suppose that even in earlier times, there was an encroachment of the sea on this portion of the east coast, when other places seem to have been submerged in the ocean. We may perhaps trace an allusion to such an inundation in the name Tōṭipuram by which the town of Shiyali was known in early times. In their hymns on Tirukkaḷumalam, Nānasambandar and Appar state in clear terms that it once floated like a boat in the water of the sea. Several villages were destroyed, but Tōṭipuram is said to have survived the effects of the event.³ The foundations of the original city of Kāvīrippāmpattinam must have been laid long after the first inundation but when it was founded, how long it thrived as the principal town of the Chōḷa empire and who the sovereigns were that ruled over it, are facts yet to be ascertained. The Greek geographer, Ptolemy, who flourished in the second century A. D. speaks of *Chabaris Emporium* and this has been taken to refer to the port of Kāvīrippāmpattinam. After the destruction of the city by the encroachment of the sea perhaps at the close of the 7th century A. D., it seems to have been refounded and been again

¹ Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, I, p. 273

² The references that 'Poppī śāgarāmbu śāykkāḍu,' i. e. Śāykkāḍu (Śāyāvanam) at the place where the Poppī (Kāvēri) joins the sea: 'Vāyṭṭa māḷigai Śāttaru vaṇ-Pugār-māḷi pāṭṭa vāyṭṭa' śāḷadu polinda 'Śāykkāḍu' and 'Pugāriṭ-Pallavanīśvaram' occurring in Nānasambandar's hymns and Pūm-Pugār-Chēḍāykkāḍu and Kāvīrippāmpattinattu-Śāykkāḍu found in the hymns of Appar make it clear that both Śāykkāḍu and Pallavanīśvaram were in Kāvīrippāmpattinam and that the town was near the sea. It is worthy of note that Śāykkāḍu and Śāyāvanam are synonymous. It may also be pointed out that Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār who is later than the other two Saiva saints has not contributed any hymn on the temples at Kāvīrippāmpattinam, though he has visited places near it and composed hymns on them.

³ The expression 'Kōḍuvarai śāḷadu kaḷal-īḷai midakkum Kaḷumala-nagar' occurring in one of the hymns of Nānasambandar, 'alaiyūm peru-veḷatt-aṅgu midanda Tōṭipuram' and 'munṇṭriṇ midanda' found in the verses of Appar and 'Kaḷal-kōḷa midanda kaḷumala vaḷanagar' in the songs of Sundaramūrti furnish evidence on the point. One other reference in Appar's *Dēvāram* which says that four or five birds are supposed to have borne the burden of the feet of god at Shiyali on the day when the sea encroached on the land is also of interest.

a place of importance till the 15th century A. D. Then it ceased to be such, partly owing to the silting up of the Kāvēri⁴ and partly also to some other causes. The sandy mounds found scattered over several places near the villages of Talaichcheigādu, Shiyali and Mēlaipperumpallam amply testify to the inundations of the sea. The fragments of brick and tile strewn over the fields near the now insignificant villages round the ruins of Kāvērippattinam indicate the remains of the town founded in later times. Colonel Yule identifies Pattinam with Fattan of the Muhammadan historian Rashīdu'ddīn. If anything like the remains of the original city referred to by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A. D. and said to have been destroyed five centuries later, is to be traced at all, it must be by the axe and spade. In other words, it is only excavation on a large scale conducted in a scientific and systematic method, a thing much to be desired, that would enable us to have a peep into the past greatness of the city.

The name Pallavanisvaram, by which one of the temples at Kāvērippattinam was called in the middle of the 7th century A. D., suggests that it should have been either built by a Pallava king or that it came into existence during the time of a Pallava, whose sway was acknowledged in that part of the country where the village was situated. It is even probable that the temple was founded sometime earlier, and in this case, it must have existed in an insignificant form before its construction on a grander scale was undertaken by the Pallava king. We do not know to which of the Pallavas the construction of the temple of Pallavanisvaram should be ascribed, but we can assign it with a good deal of probability to Narasimhavarman I., the contemporary of Nānasambandar, because excepting him none other of the line claims to have conquered the Chōlas.

Such have been the fortunes of the city, which, at the time of Karikāla, one of the greatest sovereigns of the Chōla dynasty, became the principal town of the empire. This king was not unaware of its advantageous position for trade. Accordingly, he appears to have improved it to a considerable extent by building warehouses and appointing officers to collect the dues to government on the articles exported from and imported into the country.⁵ It is not unlikely that the seat of Government was removed by Karikāla to this place from Uraiyūr, which he is said to have abandoned, finding perhaps that it was not a central place and had not so much in its favour to be the capital of the empire as the flourishing port of Kāvērippattinam. Karikāla was certainly one of the most powerful Chōla kings that ruled from the city and his name is even to the present day known throughout the Tamil country, and even in the Telugu districts that of a great monarch who looked to the welfare of the subjects entrusted to his care and as a patron of letters.

Inscriptions that mention him are indeed very few, but certainly not fewer than those that refer to the other great kings of the line. Except for the mere mention of him, Chōla inscriptions do not throw much light on the events connected with his reign. This is because we have not as yet obtained any copper-plate grant relating to the dynasty to which Karikāla belonged, all the charters discovered hitherto being only those of the revived Chōla line started by Vijayālaya in about the 9th century A. D. Nor are we in possession of the facts which brought an end to the earlier line. It is not even known who the last great sovereign was. But there is not much doubt, however, that the Pallava expansion in the south and the establishment of the Chālukyas were some of the causes which might have contributed to this end, not to say the effeminacy and weakness of some of the Chōla kings, who do not appear to have persisted in maintaining their ground against the advancing northern powers. The Udayēndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa king Prithivīpati II. Hastimalla place Karikāla

⁴ Above, Vol. VII. p. 40.

⁵ See *Pattinappattai*.

between Killi and Kôcheingannan, while the Leyden plates mention him prior to Kôcheingannan and Killi. Both the Eastern Châlukyas and Telugu Chôlas, whose copper-plate charters are not few, claim descent from Karikâla and the importance of these will be discussed later on. Though the materials furnished by inscriptions regarding his reign are scanty, yet there is no room for complete disappointment, for the literature of the early Tamils has on record many a reference, which could be of use to the students of history.

The exact time when this king flourished is not given either in the copper-plates which mention him or in the Tamil works which describe his times. Scanty as the materials are for settling the question of his date, the approximate period to which this king should be ascribed can fairly be made out by a consideration of certain facts and events connected with his reign. These are:—

- (1) The battle at Venṇil, where Karikâla defeated the Chêra and the Pândya kings.
- (2) Karikâla ruled from Kâñchi, which he made new with gold.
- (3) The fight with Trilôchana-Pallava, whom he is said to have defeated.
- (4) He brought a number of families from the Gangetic valley and settled them in the several districts of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam.
- (5) Karikâla was an ally of Avanti and an overlord of Vajra and Maghada.
- (6) He figures among the early ancestors of the Telugu-Chôḍa chiefs and the Chôlas.

Copper-plate charters of the Telugu-Chôḍa chiefs attribute to Karikâla the building of high banks to the Kâvêri river and the conquest of Trilôchana-Pallava.⁶ It may be stated that the former of these events is mentioned in the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant.⁷ The statement that Karikâla ruled from Kâñchi making it new with gold might be taken to show either that the Pallavas had not settled themselves yet at Kâñchi, or that the Chôla king's conquest of them gave him its possession. The conquest of Trilôchana-Pallava attributed to Karikâla suggests that the latter is more probable. It is not known, however, which king among the Pallavas bore the surname Trilôchana. Whichever he was, he is also said to have been defeated by the Western Châlukya Vijayâditya, who, in spite of the victory, is reported to have lost his life in the encounter.⁸ As Vijayâditya, with whom the Pallava contemporary of Karikâla had to fight, is considered to be the immediate predecessor of Pulakêsin I, and as the initial date of Pulakêsin is fixed at A. D. 550, Vijayâditya has to be assigned to the earlier half of the 6th century A. D. And this must also be the time, when the Chôla king Karikâla flourished. It may be noted that Vijayâditya was a king of northern India and came from Ayôdhya in quest of a dominion in the south. We are not informed if Trilôchana-Pallava met his two opponents in the same battle or in different encounters. If the Tamil work *Tonḍamaṇḍalâḍagam* can be relied upon, we may perhaps infer that Karikâla had something to do with the kings of northern India, whence Vijayâditya also came. Here we find that Karikâla brought a number of Sûdra families from the Gangetic valley (and on that account said to belong to the *Gaṅga-kula*), settled them in the 24 districts (*kôṭṭam*) of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam, and bestowed on them rich gifts.⁹ This fact and the subsequent settlement of the Western Châlukyas in southern India on a more or less firm footing might perhaps be adduced to show that Trilôchana-Pallava had to meet the combined forces of Karikâla and Vijayâditya, and that the two last were on some terms of alliance, which are not quite plain. It is not unlikely, that some of the northern powers joined one side or the other. In this connection it is worthy of note that Karikâla is represented in the Tamil work *Silappadigâram* as an ally of Avanti, which is Ujjain in Malwa,¹⁰ and as the overlord of Vajra and Maghadha.¹¹ It looks as if Karikâla was

⁶ P. 17 of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900*.

⁷ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-07*, p. 67.

⁸ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II, p. 340.

⁹ Stanza 97, p. 33.

¹⁰ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. p. 246 and Vol. VI. p. 195.

¹¹ *agadha* denotes Southern Bihar in Lower Bengal.

instrumental in permanently settling the Western Chálukyas in southern India. The defeat of the Chêra and the Pândya on the plains of Veṅṅil, and the confederacy of nine potentates and the Pallavas in some unnamed places should have left Karikāla as the undisputed lord of the Dekkan. The Chêra king defeated by him was Sêramān Peruñchêral Âthan. He received a wound on his back and is said to have sought a voluntary death rather than being a monument of disgrace to his family.¹² That even the people of the Telugu districts acknowledged his sway is gathered from the fact that Karikāla figures among the early ancestors of the Telugu Chôḍa chiefs and the Chôḷas. Inscriptions of the Chôḷas are found in the Cuddapah and Bellary districts.

If the date we have now arrived at for Karikāla prove correct, it will be seen that Kanakasathai Pillai was wrong in identifying him with Killi who died at Kurāppalli. His identification was based on taking *Perumāvalavan* as a surname both of Karikāla and Killi. *Perumāvalavan* means the great Chôḷa and as such it might be applied to any monarch of the Chôḷa line. To show the incorrectness of the identification, we have only to point out that Kurāppalli-tuñjina-Killi was a contemporary of the Pândya kings Neḍuñjeliyan and Ugra-Peruvaḷudi, who died at Madura and appear to have lived nearly a century later.¹³ It is also worthy of note that none of the poets who were contemporaries of Karikāla figures among the contemporaries of Kurāppalli-tuñjina-Killi, Ugra-Peruvaḷudi or Neḍuñjeliyan.

A word about Karikāla's paretage, which deserves to be mentioned here. He was the son of Iḷaṅjēcheṇṇi called also Iḷaṅjēṇṇi or Iḷaiyōṇ. This name means "the young Chôḷa" or "the young prince." He was perhaps the heir apparent to the Chôḷa throne and hence was known by that appellation. It may be noted that Iḷaṅcheṇṇi or Iḷaiyōṇ is something similar to *Iḷaṅḍ*, *yuvārāja* or *Iḷavarāṣu*. There is nothing to warrant our presuming that Iḷaṅjēcheṇṇi was a king of the Chôḷa dominions. He seems to have distinguished himself in the wars undertaken by the reigning king who, we might suppose, was his elder brother. The title *Uruvappahrēru*, which we find prefixed to his name, shows that he resembled a lion in prowess. Sometimes the name Iḷaṅjēcheṇṇi is connected with *Neydalaṅḍal* which perhaps denotes that the tract of country over which he was the lord, bordered on the sea and it was, most probably, near the mouth of the Kāvêri river. He married a daughter of Aḷundūr-vēḷ. Aḷundūr is perhaps identical with Têr or Tiruv-Aḷundūr near Mâyaveram. He is credited with having defeated in battle the Chêra king of his day and taken from him a place called Pāmaḷūr.¹⁴ Kuḍakkō-Neḍuñjêral Âthan might be the person vanquished by him as we know that he was his contemporary.

From what has been said above, it will be evident that the accession of Karikāla to the Chôḷa throne is not quite regular, as he had no claims to it, if the reigning king had any issue. There are also grounds for inferring that on the death of Karikāla's predecessor, there were several claimants to the Chôḷa throne and Karikāla succeeded in getting it through the aid of his uncle Irumbiḍar Talaiyār. The story that an elephant from Tirukkaḷumalam put a garland on Karikāla's neck, carried him on its back and placed him on the Chôḷa throne when he was stationed at Karuvūr perhaps tells the same fact. It is worthy of note that this story is quite similar to another recorded about Mûrti-Nāyanār, one of the Saiva devotees who was raised to the rank of a Pândya king, when the Pândya country had no sovereign. If the interpretation of the name Karikāla is 'scorched leg', it is not unlikely that in the endeavour to get the kingdom, Karikāla happened to meet with an accident in which one of his legs was scorched.¹⁵ Karikāla married the daughter of a *Vēḷir* chief of Nāṅgûr. A village of this name is celebrated in the Vaishṇava work *Nāḷayiraprabandham*. Inscriptions state that it was

¹² The poets Kaḷāttalaiyār and Veṅṇi-Kuyattiyār refer to this king in *Puṇanāḍuṇṇu*, stanzas 65 and 66.

¹³ Vide ante Vol. XL, pp. 224 ff. "Date of Maduraiakkāñchi and its hero."

¹⁴ *Puṇam*, stanzas 10 and 203.

¹⁵ Another way of interpreting the name is 'he (who is) death to the elephants (of his enemies).' In this case the name shows how powerful he was. If *Kalikāla* is the name, it means 'the destroyer (of the evils) of the Kali (age).'

the headquarters of a subdivision in ancient times. Tiravengādu and Kāvīrīpūmpattinam were places situated in it. It seems, therefore certain, that Kil-Nāngūr in the Shiyali *taluka* is identical with it. It is, therefore, no wonder that Karikāla had a special liking for Kāvīrīpūmpattinam, that it was only three or four miles from Nāngūr whence his queen hailed.

He might probably have witnessed the annual destruction which the Kāvērī river caused when it overflowed its banks during high floods and it may have led him to undertake the stupendous work of constructing high banks to the river to prevent the recurrence of the evil. By the way, it may be said that the irrigation of the Kāvērī delta had engaged the attention of early Chōla kings. Of the several branches which this river has, the Veppāru and the Araśil date back to times earlier than Karikāla¹⁶ and most of the others are attributable to some of the members of the Chōla dynasty whose names they bear even at the present day.¹⁷ The course of the river seems to have changed at an early date giving rise to a new source of irrigation to the country. Palaṅkāvērī was the name by which the original river was known to distinguish it from the new, but it is not known if this diversion of the river was due to natural causes, or if it was the work of any particular person. Palaṅkāvērī and Kolliḍam were in existence prior to the 7th century A. D.¹⁸ In spite of the diversion of water in these branches, the Kāvērī seems to have carried much water and caused damage to the country during floods. Karikāla's services to the country in undertaking to build high banks and in opening new channels to improve the irrigation of the land, cannot be over estimated. The banks are said to measure 1,080 feet in length, 40 to 60 feet in width, and 15 to 18 feet in height. They successfully prevented annual destruction for nearly fifteen centuries by the mere inertia of the storage of materials. It is not unlikely that the bunds constructed by him were improved periodically. In all probability the ancient custom of parcelling out a few acres of land irrigated by the source among a few families who were required to take out fixed quantities of mud or sand from the bed and throw them on the bund every year, was followed in the case of the Kāvērī also.

We have already referred to the impetus given by Karikāla to commerce and trade and this will appear in better light from the translation of Paṭṭinappālai appended below. The poem was composed by Kaḍiyālūr Rudraṅkaṇṇaṇār, who is reported to have received the munificent gift of sixteen *lakhs* of gold pieces as reward for his composition. We have also mentioned that Karikāla's contact with the northern powers gave him an opportunity for settling a number of people in the south. The growth of civilisation during this period seems to have assumed a different turn. The impulse given to art and trade is specially noteworthy. The condition of the people improved to a considerable extent and every effort was made to increase their happiness and prosperity.

Extract from Paṭṭinappāli.

The Chōla country was irrigated by the Kāvērī river which never failed in its supply even when there was no rain. The fields yielded sugarcane from the juice of which jaggery was prepared; big bunches of plantains, cocoanuts and arecanuts. Mango and palm trees abounded. There were also flower gardens covering large areas. The tanks of the country had high bunds resembling the form of the constellation Makha. Fragrant flowers of a variety of colours were produced near them.

The villages in the country adjoined each other and the houses had large compounds in front where they dried paddy. Here children amused themselves by dragging three-wheeled little cars. The doors of the houses bore tiger marks. The royal palaces were white but soiled by the dust raised by cars and horses which were ever moving in the streets.

¹⁶ The names Veppī-kuyattiyār and Ariśilkiḷār assumed by persons indicate the existence of the two branches of the Kāvērī.

¹⁷ It may be remarked that Viraśōlan, Kīrtimārtāṇḍan (Kīrtimāṇ), Uyyakkopḍāṇ and Muḍigopḍāṇ are the surnames of some of the Chōla kings of the 10th and 11th centuries.

¹⁸ Several inscriptions mention Palaṅkāvērī. This and Kolliḍam are referred to in the Dēvāram songs of the 7th century, A. D.

There were big alms houses where large quantities of rice were cooked and served to people resorting to them. Also places where small tanks were made and grass served for cattle. Jaina and Buddhist temples were found in one quarter of the town while in another the Brahmans with plaited hair performed sacrifices and raised volumes of smoke. The Paradavar living near the sea-coast ate *igāl* fish and boiled flesh of tortoises, wore the flowers of *adumbu* and *āmbal* and indulged in setting goats to fight in the open and spacious court-yards. In the *purachchēri*, i. e. the quarter outside the town low-class people reared pigs and fowls.

On holidays the Paradavar of Pugār abstained from going over the sea to catch fish, allowed their nets to dry on the white sand in front of their low-roofed houses which were built on the sea-shore. They wore the *tdlai* flowers and garlands, drank toddy drawn from the palmyra and paddy and amused themselves in dancing around a post in which they invoked the presence of god. Accompanied by their wives they bathed in the high waves of the sea to expiate their sins, then in the fresh water of the river to remove the salt, made images and had other enjoyments throughout the day. And in the night they abstained from drinking, stayed in their high palaces, heard music and witnessed dramatic performances, spent some time in the moonlight and retired with their wives to rest, removing the silk cloths which they wore and putting on thin white robes. Just before the dawn of day they slept on the sands of the shore.

Near the wide streets of the Paradavar and on the sea-shore where the *tdlai* flowers abounded there were warehouses with good guards. Things poured in here from all quarters for being stored eventually to be shipped. These, when removed from the warehouse, were stamped with tiger-marks and issued out on payment of a duty. Things landing from ships were similarly stamped with tiger-marks and duty charged. The officers who raised taxes on exports and imports were ever busy in their work.

In the upper stories of their houses, ladies of great beauty gathered near the windows with folded hands and joined palms to witness the festivities made for gods like *muruga*, etc., which passed in the streets of the bazaars, to the accompaniment of music sounded by the *kuḷal*, *ydī*, *muḷam*, *muraṣu*, etc. Their houses were storeyed, had raised pials and large court-yards where cattle played freely. At the gates and on the tops of buildings flags were put up. Men of learning and reputation also put up flags inviting combatants to challenge their skill. Attached to the masts of ships, in the port of Pugār, there were other banners. In the toddy shops in front of which fish and flesh were spread out to dry, there were flags seen hoisting.

To the city were imported horses of good gait, in ships which were propelled by the wind; diamond and gold from Mount Mēru; sandalwood and *agil* from Goorg; pearls from the southern ocean, coral from the eastern sea; the wealth of the Gangetic region; food-stuffs from Ceylon; eatables from Burma and incense from other places. Thus, the streets of Pugār literally bore the burden of rich merchandise which were imported from several quarters. Here were also streets inhabited by people of various creeds and tongues who had abandoned their towns and settled in this city where they formed new acquaintances and relations. The *veḷḷḍar* who cultivated the land and who were the source of prosperity to all classes of people, lived in great numbers.

Not satisfied with the wealth of his own country and what was paid to him as tribute by the feudatory chiefs, the great Chōḷa i. e. Karikāla whose *kaḷal* touching the crowns of other kings made them bright, and in whose chest the sandal paste was rubbed out by the embrace of his wife and children, started on a tour of conquest with his elephants, horses, etc., destroyed his enemies' regions and killed their army in great numbers. He made the *aruḍḍar* obey his commands and the northern kings wither, caused trouble to the *kuḍavar*, cut away the progeny of *podurar* and destroyed the *Iruṅōvēl*. He destroyed the forests in the Chōḷa country, inhabited them, converting them into habitable lands, increased the wealth, abandoned Uṇḍai with its brilliant palaces, built temples, set up families, opened small and large gates in the huge walls of the city, stored bows and arrows and showed his anger against the Pāṇḍya who was powerful in arms.

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